

Message Text

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SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT COMMENTARY NEW REPUBLIC, MAY 8,
HEADED "HENRY'S SUCCESSOR".

2. THOUGH HE IS LIKELY TO SURVIVE THE SUPERFICIAL CUTS AND
BRUISES OF THE CAMPAIGN, HENRY KISSINGER NOW FINALLY IS
SHOWING HIS POLITICAL MORTALITY. WHETHER OR NOT THE DEMO-
CRATS WIN IN NOVEMBER, THIS PEERLESS, FLAWED MAN IS COMING
TO THE END OF HIS HISTORIC MASTERY OF US FOREIGN POLICY.
HIS LEAVING WILL PLEASE MANY PEOPLE IN BOTH PARTIES WHO
ONCE WERE IN HIS THRALL. IN THE TWO YEARS SINCE IN SALZ-
BURG HE THREATENED TO RESIGN AND SENT SHIVERS THROUGH THE
PRESS AND CONGRESS, THE EMERGING RECORD OF KISSINGER BLUN-
DERS AND DECEPTION HAS REDUCED THE APPEAL OF HIS BRILLIANCE
AND CHARM.

3. BUT BEFORE HIS CRITICS CELEBRATE THE EXIT OF SUPER K,
THEY SHOULD REFLECT ON WHAT THE COUNTRY WILL PROBABLY
GET IN HIS PLACE. FOR ALMOST A QUARTER CENTURY, UNDER BOTH
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REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS, THE OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF STATE

HAS BEEN THE PRESERVE OF A SMALL INGROWN ELITE CLUSTERED
MAINLY IN NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON. MANY OF THE LAWYERS,

BANKERS, FOUNDATION EXECUTIVES AND HOUSE ACADEMICS OF THIS FOREIGN POLICY ESTABLISHMENT HAVE SAT BY THE PHONE WAITING FOR A CALL FROM THE WHITE HOUSE ASKING THEM TO MANAGE AMERICA'S ROLE IN THE WORLD, OR, AS LUCK WOULD HAVE IT, TO JUDGE THE "SOUNDNESS" FOR THE OFFICE OF ONE OF THEIR COLLEAGUES. THE CALL OFTEN CAME. UNSURE OF THEIR OWN ABILITIES AND THEIR GRASP OF DIPLOMACY, POLITICIANS FROM HARRY TRUMAN TO LYNDON JOHNSON TURNED TO THE ESTABLISHMENT TO FILL THE MOST IMPORTANT CABINET POST. THE ELITE SERVED UP PATRICIAN LAWYERS DEAN ACHESON AND JOHN FOSTER DULLES, AND LATER, ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION PRESIDENT AND ERSTWHILE BUREAUCRAT DEAN RUSK. THE REST IS HISTORY, MUCH OF IT UNPLEASANT.

4. RICHARD NIXON DEPARTED FROM TRADITION. ACCURATELY FEELING HIMSELF TO BE A HATED OUTSIDER BY THIS ESTABLISHMENT, HE RELIED FOR HIS FOREIGN POLICY ON A RELATIVELY OBSCURE HARVARD PROFESSOR NAMED HENRY ALFRED KISSINGER, WHOSE INDEPENDENCE AND INTELLECT HAD PUT HIM IN THE COMPANY THOUGH NEVER IN THE LEAGUE OF THE ACHESONS, THE DULLESSES AND RUSKS. LECTURING TO THE FLESHY FACES AROUND THOSE SEMINARS AT THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, KISSINGER QUICKLY DISCOVERED THE ULTIMATE DIRTY LITTLE SECRET OF THE FOREIGN POLICY CLUB: ITS INTELLECTUAL SHALLOWNESS. HE SAW THE INCESTUOUS JOCKEYING FOR POSITION, THE ENDLESS GOSSIP, THE COMMON OBSESSION WITH KEEPING A BLURRED, UNEXCEPTIONABLE REPUTATION FOR THE MOMENT WHEN THE PRESIDENT MIGHT CALL. LOST IN THE SEAMY SCRAMBLE WAS ANY GENUINE THOUGHT OR DEBATE ABOUT FOREIGN POLICY. "VERY LITTLE IN THE EXPERIENCE THAT FORMS THESE MEN," KISSINGER WROTE PROPHETICALLY IN 1961, "PRODUCES THE COMBINATION OF POLITICAL ACUMEN, CONCEPTUAL SKILL, PERSUASIVE POWER, AND SUBSTANTIVE KNOWLEDGE REQUIRED FOR THE HIGHEST POSITIONS OF GOVERNMENT." THEIRS WAS, HE WENT ON, "A STYLE OF LIFE THAT INHIBITS REFLECTIVENESS., PRIVATELY, HIS OPINION OF THE GRASPING AND INCOMPETENCE OF THE ELITE WAS EXPRESSED IN PLAINER LANGUAGE.

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5. THE ESTABLISHMENT'S CLAIM TO RULE, ITS IRRESISTIBLE POWER OVER SELF-DOUBTING SOULS LIKE JOHNSON, HUBERT HUMPHREY OR EVEN NOW JIMMY CARTER, HAS ALWAYS BEEN ITS "EXPERIENCE." FOR THE MEN NOW ELBOWING THEIR WAY INTO LINE FOR HIGH OFFICE UNDER THE DEMOCRATS, "EXPERIENCE, MEANS, NO MATTER HOW MUCH THEY AND WE WOULD LIKE TO FORGET IT, VIETNAM. READING THE

RECENT SPEECHES AND ARTICLES OF EMPLOYABLE FORMER OFFICIALS, HOWEVER, IT'S HARD TO IMAGINE HOW THE KENNEDY AND JOHNSON ADMINISTRATIONS MADE IT THROUGH THOSE EIGHT YEARS AND 20,000 AMERICAN DEAD WITH SO MANY POLICYMAKERS SO FIERCELY OPPOSED TO THE WAR. THEY'D BEEN DISCREET. THEY HID THEIR DISSENT SO WELL THAT MOST OF THEM WENT RIGHT ON WATCHING

SILENTLY OR ACTIVELY CONTRIBUTING TO THE DUPLICITY AND DIS-
ASTER. THOSE NOT DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN VIETNAM STOOD BY
WHILE THE WAR DEVoured EVERY WORTHWHILE INITIATIVE IN OUR
FOREIGN POLICY. MOST OF KISSINGER'S REAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS
-- SALT, THE MIDDLE EAST MEDIATION, THE OPENING TO PEKING
-- WERE AUTHENTIC PROSPECTS IN AMERICAN DIPLOMACY YEARS
BEFORE, BUT THEY HAD ATROPHIED IN THE POLICY PARALYSIS AND
BUREAUCRATIC STAGNATION OF THE DEMOCRATS. YET AMONG THE
MANY MEN WHO SERVED IN THE KEY JOBS AT THE LEVEL OF ASSIS-
TANT SECRETARY IN STATE OR DEFENSE IN THE 1960S -- MEN WHO
NOW QUIETLY ADVISE THE CANDIDATES AND EXPECT TO GOVERN
AGAIN -- THERE WAS NOT ONE RESIGNATION IN PUBLIC PROTEST.
THE ESTABLISHMENT, AS EVERYONE KNOWS, HAS ITS UNWRITTEN
RULES ABOUT "GOING PUBLIC" THAT WAY. CONSUMING AMBITION
KEPT MEMBERS OF THE ELITE FROM TELLING THE TRUTH TO THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE ABOUT THE MOST COSTLY US MISTAKE IN THIS
CENTURY.

6. AND WHAT ABOUT THE FUTURE IN THIS PAINFUL NEW WORLD OF
INFLATION AND RESOURCE SCARCITIES? IS THE ESTABLISHMENT
QUALIFIED TO DEAL WITH SUCH HUMAN ISSUES? THE CONFLICT OF
INTEREST IS CONGENITAL. AS LAWYERS, FINANCIERS, FOUNDATION
GRANDEES -- ALL WARDS OF BIG MONEY -- THEIR BREAD-AND-
BUTTER CLIENTS ARE THE VAST CORPORATE POWERS THAT ARE ADVER-
SARIES OF THE PUBLIC INTEREST FROM KANSAS CITY TO KINSHASA,
WHEREVER PEOPLE WANT A FAIR SAY IN THEIR ECONOMIC DESTINY.
PRESUMED SO WORLDLY, THE ELITE TENDS TO BE PROVINCIAL AND
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ISOLATED. DRIVEN SNUGLY PAST THE SLUMS OF NEW YORK AND
WASHINGTON ON THE WAY TO THEIR COMFORTABLE EXILES, THEY
ARE OFTEN OBLIVIOUS TO THE LIFE OF THEIR OWN COMMUNITIES,
LET ALONE THE REST OF THE UNITED STATES. NOR IS THE
ESTABLISHMENT IN TUNE WITH THE NATIONAL DEMAND FOR A MORE
OPEN FOREIGN POLICY. ITS CONTEMPT FOR THE PUBLIC WAS PLAIN
IN THE SECRET GOVERNMENT IT HAS CONDUCTED. DEMOCRATS
SHOULD REMEMBER THAT THE PENTAGON PAPERS RIVAL ANYTHING
KISSINGER HAS PERPETRATED IN THE ART OF PUBLIC LYING.
MANY OF THE CIA HORRORS UNEARTHED BY THE CHURCH AND PIKE
COMMITTEES ARE TRACEABLE TO OPERATIONS APPROVED BY OFFI-
CIALS IN THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION WHOSE ZEAL FOR INTER-
VENTION AND PURCHASING FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS IS ANOTHER PART

OF THE PAST THAT MUST BE DROPPED DOWN THE MEMORY HOLE IF
DEMOCRATS ARE TO TAKE OFFICE.

7. IF ALL THIS SEEMS ABSTRACT, CONSIDER A SAMPLING OF THE
MEN WHO ARE NOW MOST PROMINENTLY MENTIONED AS FOREIGN
POLICY ADVISERS BY DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES OR AS POTENTIAL
REPUBLICAN SUCCESSORS TO KISSINGER.

8. -- CYRUS VANCE, WHO IS AWAITING JIMMY CARTER'S INAUGU-

RATION, WAS A HIGH OFFICIAL IN THE PENTAGON THROUGHOUT THE '60S, INCLUDING 1964-1967 AS MCNAMARA'S DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, AND IS NOW A NEW YORK LAWYER SERVING ON SEVERAL CORPORATE BOARDS. VANCE WAS A MAJOR PARTICIPANT IN A FOREIGN POLICY THAT DESTROYED THE LAST DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT, YET HIS RECOLLECTIONS ARE UNSHARED AND HIS VIEWS ON WORLD ISSUES, AS ONE OBSERVER PUT IT RECENTLY, ARE "INVISIBLE TO THE NAKED EYE." WOULDNT IT BE USEFUL TO KNOW MORE?

9. -- GEORGE BALL, LONG THE FAVORITE OF THE MODERATE WING, IS A FORMER UNDERSECRETARY OF STATE TO DEAN RUSK NOW COME TO WALL STREET, WHERE HE IS A SENIOR PARTNER AT LEHMAN BROTHERS. BALL'S GENTLE BUT INSISTENT DISSENT ON VIETNAM IS PUBLICLY RECORDED IN THE PENTAGON PAPERS, THOUGH THANKS TO DAN ELLSBERG, NOT BALL, WHO RESIGNED QUIETLY IN 1966 AND EVEN RETURNED TO BE UN AMBASSADOR IN 1968 WITHOUT CONFUSING THE PUBLIC WITH FACTS ABOUT HOW THEY WERE BEING GOVERNED. WOULD HE FEEL DIFFERENTLY NEXT TIME? AND IS HE UNCLASSIFIED

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NOT OF ALL THE PRETENDERS THE MOST PREOCCUPIED WITH FOREIGN POLICY AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR INVESTMENT OPPORTUNITIES?

10. -- EUGENE ROSTOW, A FORMER UNDERSECRETARY OF STATE FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS UNDER JOHNSON, IS ADMIRER BY HARDER-LINERS. LIKE HIS BROTHER WALT, HE WAS AN ARDENT SUPPORTER OF THE VIETNAM POLICY AT ITS NADIR IN 1966-68. HE IS NOW BACK AT YALE AS A LAW PROFESSOR, BUT HE LEFT BEHIND AT STATE A RECORD IN THE HANDLING OF INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL ISSUES THAT, UNATTENDED, LED TO THE COLLAPSE IN 1971 OF THE POSTWAR ECONOMIC SYSTEM. WOULD HIS CANDIDACY FOR SECRETARY OF STATE SURVIVE AN EXAMINATION OF THAT RECORD?

11. -- PAUL C. WARNKE, MENTIONED BY MANY AS A PROSPECT FOR STATE OR DEFENSE, WAS AN ASSISTANT SECRETARY IN THE PENTAGON UNDER JOHNSON, AND IS WIDELY CREDITED WITH DISSENT ON THE WAR, THOUGH THE PENTAGON PAPERS ACCOUNT OF THE FATEFUL POST-TET DECISION ON TROOP REINFORCEMENTS RAISES SERIOUS QUESTIONS ABOUT THAT. WARNKE'S QUALIFICATIONS ALSO

INCLUDE TENURE AS AN ADVISER TO SEN. MUSKIE IN 1972. HE IS A PARTNER IN CLARK CLIFFORD'S WASHINGTON LAW FIRM. WOULD WARNKE HAVE TOLD THE TRUTH ABOUT ANGOLA, CHILE, CYPRUS?

12. THE LIST COULD GO ON: BENJAMIN H. READ, PRESIDENT OF THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND, WHO WAS RUSK'S EXECUTIVE SECRETARY COORDINATING VIETNAM DIPLOMACY; THOMAS L. HUGHES, PRESIDENT OF THE CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT AND FORMER DIRECTOR OF STATE'S INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH WHO STOOD BY WHILE THE 303 COMMITTEE, DEMOCRATIC PREDECESSOR TO THE 40 COMMITTEE, PERFORMED ITS INTERESTING DUTIES; ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI, COLUMBIA PROFESSOR, DIRECTOR OF DAVID ROCKEFELLER'S TRILA-

TERAL COMMISSION OF US, JAPANESE AND EUROPEAN MULTINATIONALS AND ONE OF KISSINGER'S FAVORITE ESTABLISHMENT CARICATURES, WHO WAS BRIEFLY A CONSULTANT TO JOHNSON AND WOULD LIKE TO EXTEND HIS SERVICE WITH JIMMY CARTER.

13. ON THE REPUBLICAN SIDE, THE POSSIBILITIES AND THEIR RECORD ARE MORE FAMILIAR AND NO LESS DEPRESSING. THUS THERE IS TALK OF MELVIN LAIRD, WHOSE YEARS IN THE PENTAGON UNDER NIXON, FROM CAMBODIA TO THE CARPET BOMBING OF HANOI, UNCLASSIFIED

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ARE A HINT OF THE QUALITY OF HIS FUTURE SERVICE. ELLIOT RICHARDSON, IF HE IS NOT VICE PRESIDENT, WOULD BRING TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT A CAREER AS A RELIABLE TOADY, MODIFIED ONLY BY HIS IDIOSYNCRATIC BEHAVIOR AT THE END OF THE WATER-GATE ORDEAL. OR PERHAPS IT WILL BE DONALD RUMSFELD, FROM DEFENSE, WHO DISMANTLED THE POVERTY PROGRAM FOR NIXON, AND WAS A GROPING AMBASSADOR AT NATO. THEN THERE IS JOHN CONNALLY, THE MOST SUCCESSFUL POLITICAL SWITCH-HITTER OF THE AGE, BARELY OUT FROM UNDER THE SHADOW OF PERSONAL CORRUPTION, YET EAGERLY SERVING THE MOST AVARICIOUS AND CORRUPT MULTINATIONALS. OR THE RESTLESS NELSON ROCKEFELLER, WHO ACTUALLY BELIEVED UNTIL LAST WEEK THAT HENRY JACKSON'S TOP STAFF HAD BEEN INFILTRATED BY COMMUNISTS. THIS ONLY HINTS AT HOW INAPPROPRIATE THIS VAIN AND AMBITIOUS MAN WOULD BE.

14. THAT THESE FELLOWS, PARTICULARLY THE DEMOCRATS, HAVE SUCH BACKGROUNDS IS DISTURBING ENOUGH. BUT THE DEEPER INJUSTICE, TO THE PUBLIC AND TO THEM, IS THAT THE QUESTION OF POLICY AND PEOPLE IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS IS ONE OF THE MOST STUDIOUSLY IGNORED ISSUES OF A PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN, AND ONE OF THE MOST COSTLY. THERE MAY WELL BE MEN ON OUR LIST WHO WOULD BE BETTER SECRETARIES OF STATE THAN THE INCUMBENT. BUT WHAT CAN BE SEEN ON THE SLICK SURFACE IS NOT REASSURING AND THE USUAL PROCEDURE IS THAT NO ONE WILL KNOW UNTIL THE APPOINTMENT HAS BEEN MADE, THE POLITE CONFIRMATION GIVEN, AND IT IS TOO LATE.

15. DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES SHOULD BE REQUIRED TO DISCUSS THIS ISSUE -- THE KIND OF MAN THEY'D PUT IN WHAT CAN BE THE SECOND MOST IMPORTANT OFFICE IN GOVERNMENT -- WITH THE SAME SENSE OF OBLIGATION THEY NOW APPLY TO THEIR CAMPAIGN AND PERSONAL FINANCES AND TO THE STATE OF THEIR HEALTH. WHICH MEN (OR WOMEN) DO THEY HAVE IN MIND? WHERE DO THEY STAND, AND WHAT ARE THEIR RECORDS? CAN ONE REASONABLY EXPECT THEM TO BE ALIVE TO THE NEW ECONOMIC ISSUES IF THEIR WORLDS ARE SO LARGELY BOUNDED BY EXECUTIVE SUITES ON THE EAST COAST? DO THEIR RECORDS REVEAL A COMMITMENT TO ARMS CONTROL, BUT WITHOUT APPEARING TOO EAGER TO THE RUSSIANS? OR AN AWARENESS OF THE BUREAUCRATIC INERTIA THAT CRIPPLED POLICY UNDER LBJ? CAN THEY DISTINGUISH BETWEEN WORTHY UNCLASSIFIED

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ALLY AND TYRANNICAL CLIENT, BETWEEN A GENUINE NATIONAL INTEREST AND THE OFTEN DIAMETRICALLY OPPOSED INTERESTS OF LARGE CORPORATIONS? ARE THEY INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE DEMONSTRATED A DEVOTION TO AN OPEN AND DEMOCRATIC FOREIGN POLICY, THE BETRAYAL OF WHICH DID SO MUCH TO DRIVE THE LAST DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION FROM OFFICE IN DISGRACE? AND WHO ARE THE PEOPLE, THE TRAIN OF AIDES, THEY WOULD BRING WITH THEM? WOULD THOSE OFTEN IMPORTANT ASSISTANTS BE PEOPLE OF FRESH AND INDEPENDENT MIND, OR MERELY ANXIOUS REPLICAS OF THEIR ESTABLISHMENT ELDERS?

16. IF SUCH AN EXAMINATION WERE MADE, A NEW DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT MIGHT BE OBLIGED TO EXCLUDE ANYBODY WHO'D HELD A POLICY-LEVEL JOB WITH KENNEDY AND JOHNSON, AND BE DOING US ALL A FAVOR. IT WOULD BE TOO HARSH A RULE. OBVIOUSLY, ONE CAN FIND EXCEPTIONS TO THE ESTABLISHMENT EVERYMAN: LAWYER CLARK CLIFFORD, WHO ALL BUT SINGLEHANDEDLY TURNED AROUND JOHNSON ON THE WAR, OR CHESTER BOWLES, WHO RESISTED THE COOPTING AND THE GLIBNESS. BUT THOSE EXCEPTIONS ARE TOO FEW AND NOW TOO OLD.

17. THE ALTERNATIVE IS FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, FOR CARTER OR WHOEVER SURVIVES AS A CANDIDATE, TO LEARN AT LAST TO TRUST THEMSELVES WITH THEIR OWN DIPLOMACY. THE FOREIGN POLICY ELITE WAS NEVER THE BEST AND THE BRIGHTEST; ONLY THE MOST AVAILABLE WHEN POLITICIANS AND THE REST OF THITY. WE FOOLISHLY ABDICATED ITS GOOD SENSE AND RESPONSIBILITY. WE COULD HAVE A MORE HUMANE, DEMOCRATIC FOREIGN POLICY, ONE THAT DESERVES THE PUBLIC FAITH DEMOLISHED BY KISSINGER AND HIS DEMOCRATIC PREDECESSORS, IF THE NEXT SECRETARY OF STATE IS FREE OF THE TAINT OF ESTABLISHMENT AMBITION, ISOLATION AND IGNORANCE. HUNDREDS OF AMERICANS, IN LABOR, BUSINESS, THE SCIENCES AND THE ACADEMY, YES, EVEN ELECTORAL POLITICS,

ARE SHREWD NEGOTIATORS WITH A SENSE OF THEIR OWN NATION WHO COULD LEAD THAT FOREIGN POLICY. BUT IF KISSINGER'S SUCCESSOR IS DREDGED FROM THE SAME OLD RESERVOIR, IF THE ONLY REAL CHANGE AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT IS A DECLINE IN VIRTUOSITY, LIBERALS AND CONSERVATIVES ALIKE WILL SOON BE MISSING HENRY MORE THAN WE CAN NOW IMAGINE. (END TEXT)
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